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"bonded debt," and sets forth facts which prove the existence of both institutions. This is not new information, however. "Bonded debt" is an indigenous institution, as widespread as the Malayan race, and the existence of occasional domestic slavery is known to everyone who has resided long in any of the provinces of the islands. The essential facts were given to the Senate Committee on the Philippines as far back as 1902. In gathering up and presenting the data of numerous instances extending over a good many years Mr. Worcester has rendered an important service but his manner of handling this information not only awoke the pride and resentment of the Filipinos, but undoubtedly created a very false impression in this country as to the institution of slavery in the Philippines. While slavery undoubtedly exists in the Christian provinces, it is a minor evil in a country which has experienced as much violence and hardship as have the Philippines, and like its infinitely more generalized counterpart, "bonded debt," will perhaps disappear only with the popular enlightenment of the natives. The facts were not harsh enough to compel the Commission to act at any time up to November, 1907, while it was the sole legislative body, and it is hardly fair so bitterly to reproach the Assembly for not achieving a law on the matter during the first three or four years of its existence, when the Commission took no steps to accomplish the result in a much longer period of legislative responsibility. Probably it was not only the inherent difficulties of framing an enforceable law, but pride and resentment at the manner in which the subject was urged, that led the Assembly to reject Mr. Worcester's bill and postpone action until he was no longer in an official position.

To the chapter headed by the inquiry "Is Philippine Independence Now Possible?" Mr. Worcester answers emphatically "No!" and his reply is probably concurred in by nearly every competent observer who has the well-being of the Filipinos at heart.

The work is finely illustrated with photographs of which Mr. Worcester has a truly great collection, obtained largely by his own skilled and patient exertions.

DAVID P. BARROWS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Progressivism—and After. By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.
New York: Macmillan, 1914. Pp. xxxv+406. \$1.50.

This is first of all an interpretation and evaluation of progressivism from the viewpoint with which Mr. Walling's earlier writings have

already made his readers acquainted. Indeed, the present volume is complementary to *Socialism as It Is*; it not only takes account of later utterances, programs, and measures, but it concerns itself primarily with the United States, which in that work was subordinated to the larger field of interest. Both works are designed to be international in scope, but the emphasis is changed because of the more rapid development of the new movements in this country.

This latest volume embraces not only a discussion of the aims, progress, implications, and limitations of the progressive movement, but an outline of the movements which seem destined to succeed it. In fact the body of the work is almost equally divided into two parts: the first entitled "Progressivism," which the author identifies with state capitalism; the second bearing the caption "State Socialism" and concluding with chapters on socialism proper. Six articles from Mr. Walling's pen are printed as appendices under the titles: "Was Karl Marx a State Socialist?"; "The German Social Democracy as a 'Labor' Party"; "The German Democracy as a Progressive Party"; "French Syndicalism—a Movement of the Aristocracy of Labor"; "State Socialism in the American Socialist Party"; and "American Socialists and the Race Problem."

The author distinguishes three movements, State Capitalism (Progressivism), State Socialism (Laborism), and Socialism; these correspond to the three well-marked but coalescing stages which he foresees in the social struggle, viz., the small capitalists versus the large capitalists, the privileged non-capitalists (aristocracy of labor) versus the small capitalists, and the non-privileged non-capitalists (the laboring masses) versus the aristocracy of labor. He points out that the non-socialist progressive recognizes only the first; while most socialists, gripped by "the great unconscious dogma of the solidarity of labor," do not recognize the third. To his mind, all three are the concern of our own generation; "state capitalism is practically full-grown"; "state socialism is well on the road to maturity"; and industrial democracy "may at least have been inaugurated" by the end of the next quarter-century.

The explanation of the progressive movement he finds, not in fear of socialism nor in the clamor of the oppressed, but in a desire on the part of the ruling classes to abolish inefficiency. The aim of the movement is the more scientific organization of industry by government; this means nationalization of capital and labor within limits set by a small-capitalist government. It involves the coming into power of new sections of the middle classes, and the more equitable distribution of

wealth among these ruling classes. Its policies will not, however, bring about equal opportunities or more equitable distribution among all classes, for wages and labor reforms must not advance at the expense of profits.

The aristocracy of labor, through the ballot and the evolution of industry, will gradually force their way into the majority; collectivism will be extended; the present class struggle against the large capitalists will evolve into a class struggle against all capitalists, and the rule of capitalists in government and industry will be abolished. But even with the "more radical and beneficent program" of state socialism, "we shall be moving away from social and economic democracy and equal economic opportunity—except in so far as the new society will provide a more fruitful soil for inaugurating the opposite tendency, a tendency for the lower classes to improve their position more rapidly than the then upper classes (now the middle group)." State socialism may begin its transition to socialism by increasing wages at the expense of profits, by equalizing educational opportunity and extending the civil service to larger proportions of citizens, and by a *corresponding measure* of labor reforms.

Keen analysis and incisive criticism of the programs of Progressive, Labor, and Socialist parties in many lands, and especially of the positions of President Wilson and ex-President Roosevelt, are outstanding features of the volume.

PAUL S. PEIRCE

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Public Opinion and Popular Government. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, President of Harvard University. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

In this volume of the "American Science Series" President Lowell has given a lucid statement of some of the difficulties of popular government in a nation of one hundred million people.

The volume contains, among other things, an extended comparison of the results, in America and in Switzerland, of the initiative and referendum as a device for eliciting and recording public opinion. This is, however, incidental to a discussion of the natural conditions which limit the usefulness, in actual practice, of every method that has thus far been devised for ascertaining and applying public opinion to the processes of legislation and government.

The difficulty arises from the fact that, "in order that there may be a real public opinion on any subject, not involving a simple question